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by Jacques Maritain

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by J. L. Benvenisti

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Hoffa and the Teamsters

by John C. Cort

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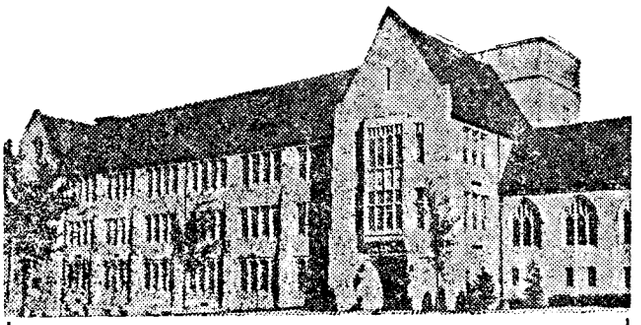

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THE COMMONWEAL
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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-THIRD YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

THE FRUIT OF SEGREGATION

FOR MANY years racial segregation was an accepted feature of life in the United States. It was most noticeable, of course, in those states with the largest Negro populations. But it was evident and accepted wherever Negroes made their homes, sought their living and educated their children. It was not totally accepted, however. There were, especially in the more "liberal" cities in the North, organizations and individuals who would not willingly accept the *status quo*, who saw segregation as a deep violation of the human spirit, as a grave offense against both justice and charity.

While such organizations and individuals did exist, it must be admitted that they often had little help from those to whom they looked for support. People who would not defend segregation in principle justified its existence by reference to history and established pattern. And many who would not defend it saw fit to ignore the real evils it worked in our society. When Father George H. Dunne, S.J., wrote for The Commonweal an article entitled "The Sin of Segregation" he enumerated and exposed the most common arguments defending segregation. In some circles his article did receive the favorable attention it deserved, but in many places it was greeted with dazed silence, for Father Dunne had with force and cogency disposed of the "accepted" reasons for segregation. His position, which should have been seen as normal and expected, was regarded as explosive and radical, and this in September, 1945.

Now, when our country is trying to eradicate the evil which it has so long endured, we can more clearly see the bitter fruit that has been slowly maturing. Segregation and the efforts to abolish it affect most directly, of course, the Negroes who are involved. One need not, and must not, lose sight of this fact, but the evil of segregation is so corrosive, so pervasive, that the most unaware person has been touched by it.

THE CONSEQUENCES of segregation in this country have not been confined to limited localities or states. In a century of revolution and rising nationalism the fate of the Negro in America is watched with keen, personal interest by the peoples of Africa and Asia. For many, all our claims and assertions about democracy and liberty will pale before our failure to treat the Negro as a first-class citizen. Racial incidents in this country are open to exploitation and distortion by the Communists.

Mr. R. S. S. Gunawardene of Ceylon, who signed the U.N. report condemning Russia's action in Hungary, was recently warned by a Bulgarian: "Be careful, Mr. Gunawardene, something far worse could happen to you today if you would go to Little Rock." For the action of Governor Orval Faubus at Little Rock, Arkansas, is quite familiar to those in the U.N.

The Till murder, the Montgomery bus boycott, the incident at Little Rock—all these, and more, can be easily distorted in the cold war to damage the image and reputation of the United States. And, since each distortion is based on some truth, those who would defend the United States and its democracy have real difficulties. Both in the cold war and in our attempt to win the friendship of Afro-Asian countries, segregation has exerted its disruptive influence.

In national politics the effects of segregation have been more immediately evident. In recent sessions of Congress the Democratic Party was held together only by the skilful maneuvering of Senator

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Lyndon Johnson. And Senator William Knowland, who was the most forthright Republican exponent of civil rights, had constantly to clarify and make consistent the conflicting statements from the White House. To many people, even those who are not complete political skeptics, political considerations seemed to play too large a role in the debate on civil rights. Certainly the varying degrees of enthusiasm and the frequent evasions of civil rights questions are not encouraging. There is still a deep division in our political life because segregation exists in the land.

The consequences of segregation have penetrated even into the lives of sincere and dedicated people. Our country will survive the quiet disapproval of any single work, and the decision of the New York Board of Education to drop *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* from the approved list of text books for the city's elementary and junior high schools is probably more foolish than dangerous. Although the board gave no clear reason for its action, the book is said to have been termed "racially offensive" by some Negroes. But *Huckleberry Finn,* besides being a recognized classic of world literature, is a profound document in the development of understanding and tolerance. Properly read, the book could only advance the goals to which the Board of Education must be dedicated. The fears spread by segregation can confuse, it is clear, even those who would work to eliminate it.

The effects of segregation are clearly pervasive. Segregation extends its influence into international affairs; it has a debilitating effect on our unions, our housing, our schools, our political parties; it influences where we would scarcely expect it. Segregation remains a wound in our society, and we will not be well until it is healed.

THE CHURCH IN CHINA

THE "INTERNATIONAL Conference of Catholics" held in Peking this summer needs to be viewed in relation to the many-sided war of the Mao regime against the Chinese Catholic Church. It is a war which has been advancing through several stages. In the pursuit of their aim of destruction the Chinese Communists have proved to be relentless, flexible and methodical.

In their first days in the territories they had conquered, the Communists proclaimed religious freedom and tolerance; churches remained open and Christian teaching was still permitted in the schools. Then, with the populace somewhat reassured, be gan the second stage, or war on "superstitions. During this phase, in which unrelenting efforts t discredit the three thousand foreign missionarie were uppermost, miscalculations did take place When, for instance, the government proceeded t the arrest of foreign missionaries in the importan diocese of Shanghai, in 1953, the faithful made dramatic protest. They followed their beloved mis sionaries into the streets and knelt on the pavemen weeping, singing and praying with such fervo that the failure of the concerted propaganda wa obvious. Since then the Mao regime has embarkec on successive steps with greater circumspection.

Once the foreign missionaries were imprisoned or deported and "superstitions" were held to be destroyed, particularly in the minds of Chinese youth, a period of positive "re-education" based on Marxist principle was decreed. It continues to this day. Finally the time seemed ripe for open opposition to Catholicism in China: Catholic schools were closed, mission properties confiscated, questionings of clergy and laity instituted and churches put to profane use. Agitation increased, and government-inspired local demonstrations against bishops, priests and religious led to trials on trumped-up charges before "People's Courts." The Church in China was fighting for its life. As early as 1951 all Catholic publications had been suspended, and all twenty-seven hundred catechetical schools had been shut down.

This summer's Peking conference was a further effort to carry out the "Triple Autonomy" demanded of the Church in China by the Mao regime in 1951: self-government, or no control from Rome; self-support, or no subsidies from abroad; self-propagation, or no more foreign missionaries. This conference is said to have proclaimed obedience to the Vatican in matters of faith and morals but to have opposed intervention from Rome "in the internal affairs of China." This is from a transcript of the official Chinese government news agency, which also quoted a resolution to the effect that the Vatican was "tending to transform the Catholic Church in China into an imperialistic instrument against the socialist regime." But other news agencies reported remarkable evidence of resistance even at this late date. The Dutch news service, K.N.P., stated that the bishops and priests who were called together to prepare the Peking meeting almost to a man opposed the effort to form a national church. And, although the government insisted that the conference reject two very key decrees from Rome—on the excommunication of

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the former vicar-general of Nanking and the appointment of the government-nominated successor to Bishop Kiong of Shanghai, whom, two years ago, the Communists deposed and imprisoned—nearly all the participants refused to take this action.

Resistance to as determined and resourceful a foe as Chinese Communism calls for courage of the highest order. The Chinese Catholics who despite such odds refuse to be separated from the Holy See and their fellow-Catholics the world over embody a challenge to their unimpeded co-religionists in Western lands.

ECONOMIC REMEDIES

MANY OF OUR political leaders and economic doctors appear concerned about continuing inflation. President Eisenhower counsels virtuous self-restraint—in wage demands on the part of representatives of the workers, price increases (and presumably profit margins) on the part of manufacturers and distributors, and buying habits on the part of the citizen as consumer. The N.A.M., blaming wage increases and high taxes, would have greater government economy and greater "equality" at non-industry-wide bargaining tables. The Democrats and their economic advisers hold that Administration credit restraints have proved inadequate and are looking in the direction of some sort of price controls. The American worker, who has more reason to be conscious of inflation than anyone not on a modest fixed income, is aware that at present wage levels it is increasingly difficult for himself and his family "to get by," while a number of businesses are contending this year with real shrinkages in their profit margins. Voluntary actions can hardly be counted on to straighten out this tangle, but up to now no convincing series of steps has been brought forward as a desirable alternative.

VERNACULAR IN THE LITURGY

IN A RECENT address delivered in Wisconsin, Archbishop Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, made quite clear that he is not to be counted among those who favor use of the vernacular in the Liturgy. "Every so often," the Archbishop stated, "we hear it said that Latin is an archaic language and should be replaced by the vernacular in the Liturgy, especially in the administration of the Sacraments, in the recitation of the Breviary, and even, at least to a certain extent, in the Mass." But Latin is not a "dead" language, he said, for the Church "communicated her vitality to the Latin language and thus secured its perpetuity." Latin, therefore, is and will continue to be the "official language" of the western Church.

Although Archbishop Cicognani's remarks will be generally—and, we think, rightfully—taken as a criticism of those who favor use of the vernacular in the Liturgy, in some ways his remarks seem to have been directed at proposals no liturgist we know of has favored. One need not say Latin is "dead" or "archaic," at least in the sense in which the Archbishop used the term, to note that it is not understood by the vast masses of the people.

Great treasures of the Church are indeed enshrined in the Latin language, as Archbishop Cicognani pointed out, such as the work of the Doctors and the Fathers of the Church. In addition, dogmatic definitions and official decisions of the Pope and of the Roman Curia are made in Latin. No doubt correct interpretations of these documents will in many cases require careful consultation of the original. But this is not quite the point.

Advocates of the vernacular are not sugggesting that Latin cease to be the official language of the Church nor that the study of Latin be abolished in our seminaries and universities. Rather, they would wholeheartedly agree with what the Archbishop said in reference to the Breviary: "How unfitting that a priest should be ignorant of the sense and meaning of its lessons." Since it is quite unlikely that all or even very many lay people will become adept in Latin, those who urge the vernacular simply suggest, not that Latin be abolished, but that English be used where practical in the administration of some of the Sacraments and in those parts of the Mass addressed to the people—with the object, of course, of making the Liturgy more meaningful to them and thus of drawing them closer to the altar.

Catholics today benefit from many Liturgical reforms instituted by the great modern Popes, beginning with the canonized Pius X and continuing today. The present Pope has long shown his own profound interest in the subject, and under his guidance there have been made great and fruitful changes in Liturgical observance, such as the Holy Week changes and the introduction of Evening Mass. All of these changes, from the frequent Communion of Pope Pius X to the Evening Mass of Pius XII, were greeted with fear by some, but

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the genius of Rome has always seemed to consist in making a decision at the right time, selecting what was good and prudent from both sides, and avoiding in the process that excess which might characterize the extreme position on either side.

This role Rome will undoubtedly fulfill again on the question of the use of the vernacular. In recent years, as at the conferences held at Lugano and Assisi, discussions by scholarly experts on the Liturgy and by Church leaders like Cardinal Lercaro have helped to promote a widespread interest in Liturgical reform. Today, articles on the subject appear, not just in magazines like The Commonweal, which have a limited readership, but in popular Catholic magazines with very large circulations. Recently, for example, after the *Catholic World* invited the opinions of ten well-known Catholic lay figures on the subject of vernacular in the Liturgy (all, with one exception, favorable), these opinions were reprinted for the vast *Catholic Digest* readership. In the same way, even as this editorial was being written an announcement of a new Missal reached our desk, noting that "participants at liturgical conferences, such as the one held at Assisi last September, have been unanimous in their agreement that eventually, perhaps within their own lifetime, use of the vernacular in the Mass would become a reality." And Archbishop Cicognani's own remarks on Latin *versus* the vernacular were considered by many diocesan editors sufficiently interesting for the front page.

All these are indications that the use of the vernacular in the Liturgy is not something esoteric and unheard of, but a subject about which there is considerable interest. It is, of course, a topic on which people disagree, but this is as it should be; the dialogue that will ensue can only be helpful. In these matters some place most stress on the need for continuity and unity; others give more emphasis to the need for greater participation by the laity. Patient, careful and charitable development of the arguments on both sides of the question will help to speed the day when a decision will be made, as it must, in Rome.

THE JENCKS BILL

ONE OF THE achievements of the recently adjourned session of Congress was the passage of the so-called Jencks bill, a bill relating to the disclosure of F.B.I. or other government records in criminal trials. The new law has been universally praised, not only as good legislation, but as a much-needed Congressional corrective to a dangerous or mistaken Supreme Court ruling. It is a good law, we think, because it makes the meaning of the Court's decision clear and unmistakable, but it is in no sense a reversal or even a limitation of the Court's decree.

In the Jencks case the Court decided that in a criminal trial the defense is entitled to see the statements made to the F.B.I. by a government witness, even when such statements are in "secret" files, if the documents are relevant to the trial testimony of that witness. Soon after the decision was made public we expressed our approval, in the interests of justice and the rights of the individual. We disagreed with Justice Tom Clark, who said that as a result of the decision, "our intelligence agencies may just as well close up shop," and with all those who invoked "national security" and the "inviolability of F.B.I. files" to justify the legal procedures in question.

The President was one of those who criticized the Jencks decision, and Attorney General Brownell called for legislation to deal with the "grave emergency in law enforcement." The call was immediately heeded by Representative Walter and Senator Eastland, who introduced bills to offset the Court's decision. In urging the necessity of such legislation, proponents of the bill distorted the words of the decision and said that it "opened up the F.B.I. files for fishing expeditions," and made it impossible to prosecute known criminals.

Then, in a number of lower courts, the Jencks ruling was interpreted by judges and prosecutors in so extreme and curious a fashion as to lend some support to the cries of the Attorney General. For instance, the Supreme Court specified that only statements relating to trial testimony need be produced by the prosecution, but some lower courts perversely ruled that the government had to disclose entire files, relevant to trial testimony or not. Again, some courts ordered pre-trial disclosure of files to the defense, but the Supreme Court was explicit in stating that reports must be produced only during a trial, as they relate to trial testimony.

Thus the bill just passed by Congress is little more than a reiteration of the Supreme Court decision. These erroneous extensions of the decision are denied by the bill, and some parts of the original ruling are amplified for greater clarity, but that's all. In view of this, we cannot understand the celebration over the bill's passage on the part of those, including the President, who attacked the original decision. They may claim a victory if they wish, but over whom?

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Truth and Tolerance

"IT IS NOT UNUSUAL TO MEET PEOPLE WHO THINK THAT NOT TO BELIEVE IN ANY TRUTH IS A PRIMARY CONDITION REQUIRED OF DEMOCRATIC CITIZENS"

JACQUES MARITAIN

O LIBERTY, how many crimes are committed in thy name!" Madame Roland said, mounting the scaffold. O Truth, it may be said, how often blind violence and oppression have been let loose in thy name in the course of history! "Zeal for truth," as Father Victor White puts it, "has too often been a cloak for the most evil and revolting of human passions."

As a result, some people think that in order to set human existence free from these evil passions and make men live in peace and pleasant quiet, the best way is to get rid of any zeal for truth or attachment to truth.

Thus it is that after the violence and cruelty of wars of religion, a period of skepticism usually occurs, as at the time of Montaigne and Charron.

Here we have only the swing of the pendulum moving from one extreme to another. Skepticism, moreover, may happen to hold those who are not skeptical to be barbarous, childish, or subhuman, and it may happen to treat them as badly as the zealot treats the unbeliever. Then skepticism proves to be as intolerant as fanaticism—it becomes the fanaticism of doubt. This is a sign that skepticism is not the answer.

The answer is humility, together with faith in truth.

The problem of truth and human fellowship is important for democratic societies; it seems to me to be particularly important for this country, where men and women coming from a great diversity of national stocks and religious or philosophical creeds have to live together. If each one of them endeavored to impose his own convictions and the truth in which he believes on all his co-citizens, would not living together become impossible? That is obviously right. Then it is easy, too easy, to go a step further, and to ask: if each one sticks to his own convictions, will not each one endeavor to impose his own convictions on all others? So that, as a result, living together will become impossible if any citizen whatever sticks to his own convictions and believes in a given truth?

Thus it is not unusual to meet people who think that *not to believe in any truth,* or *not to adhere firmly to any assertion as unshakably true in itself* is a primary condition required of democratic citizens in order to be tolerant of one another and to live in peace with one another. May I say that these people are in fact the most intolerant people, for if perchance they were to believe in something as unshakably true, they would feel compelled, by the same stroke, to impose by force and coercion their own belief on their co-citizens.

The only remedy they have found to get rid of their abiding tendency to fanaticism is to cut themselves off from truth. This is a suicidal method. And it is a suicidal conception of democracy: not only would a democratic society which lived on universal skepticism condemn itself to death by starvation; but it would also enter a process of self-annihilation, from the very fact that no democratic society can live without a common practical belief in those truths which are freedom, justice, law, and the other tenets of democracy; and that any belief in these things as objectively and unshakably true, as well as in any other kind of truth, would be brought to naught by the pre-assumed law of universal skepticism.

IN THE FIELD of political science, the opinion which I am criticizing was made into a theory—the so-called "relativistic justification of democracy"—by Hans Kelsen. It is very significant that in order to establish his philosophy of the temporal order and show that democracy implies ignorance of, or doubt about, any absolute truth, either religious or metaphysical, Kelsen has recourse to Pilate; so that, in refusing to distinguish the just from the unjust, and washing his hands, this dishonest judge thus becomes the lofty precursor of relativistic democracy.

Kelsen quotes the dialogue between Jesus and Pilate —St. John, Chapter 18—in which Jesus says: "To this end am I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth," and Pilate answers: "What is truth?" and then delivers Jesus over to the fury of the crowd. Because Pilate did not know what truth is, Kel-

M. Maritain is the famous Thomistic philosopher, author of such works as Man and the State, The Range of Reason, and Creative Intuition in Art and Poetry. This is an excerpt from a recent lecture, published under the title "Truth and Human Fellowship" by the Princeton University Press.

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sen concludes, he therefore called upon the people, and asked them to decide; and thus in a democratic society it is up to the people to decide, and mutual tolerance reigns, because nobody knows what truth is.

The truth of which Kelsen was speaking was religious and metaphysical truth—what they call "absolute truth," as if any truth, insofar as it is true, were not absolute in its own sphere. As Miss Helen Silving puts it, the burden of Kelsen's argument is: "Whoever knows or claims to know absolute truth or absolute justice"—that is to say, *truth* or *justice* simply—"cannot be a democrat, because he cannot and is not expected to admit the possibility of a view different from his own, the *true* view. The metaphysician and the believer are bound to impose their eternal truth on other people, on the ignorant, and on the people without vision. Theirs is the holy crusade of the one who knows against the one who does not know or does not share in God's grace. Only if we are aware of our ignorance of what is the *Good* may we call upon the people to decide."

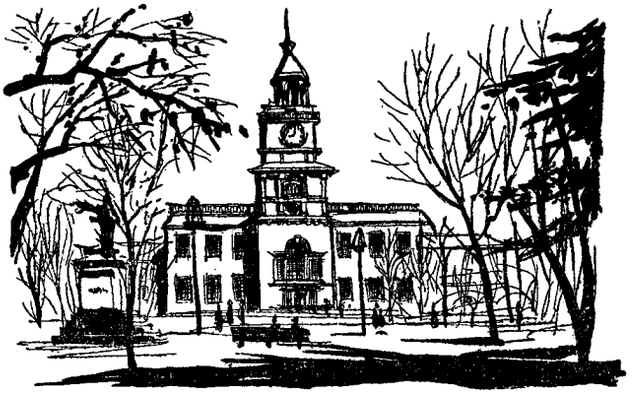
IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to summarize more accurately a set of more barbarous and erroneous assumptions, If it were true that whoever knows or claims to know truth or justice cannot admit the possibility of a view different from his own, and is bound to impose his true view on other people by violence, then the rational animal would be the most dangerous of beasts. In reality it is through rational means, that is, through persuasion, not through coercion, that the rational animal is bound by his very nature to try to induce his fellow men to share in what he knows or claims to know as true or just.

And the metaphysician, because he trusts human reason, and the believer, because he trusts divine grace and knows that "a forced faith is a hypocrisy hateful to God and man," as Cardinal Manning put it, do not use holy war to make their "eternal truth" accessible to other people; they appeal to the inner freedom of other people by offering them either their demonstrations or the testimony of their love. And we do not call upon the people to decide because we are aware of our ignorance of what is the good, but because we know this truth and this good, that the people have a right to self-government.

It is, no doubt, easy to observe that in the history of mankind nothing goes to show that, from primitive times on, religious feeling or religious ideas have been particularly successful in pacifying men; religious differences seem rather to have fed and sharpened their conflicts. On the one hand truth always makes trouble, and those who bear witness to it are always persecuted: "Do not think that I came to send peace upon earth; I came not to send peace, but the sword." On the other hand—and this is the point we must face—those who know or claim to know truth happen sometimes to persecute others. I don't deny the fact; I say that this fact, like all other facts, needs to be understood. It only means that, given the weakness of our nature, the impact of the highest and most sacred things upon the coarseness of the human heart is liable to make these things, by accident, a prey to its passions, as long as it has not been purified by genuine love.

It is nonsense to regard fanaticism as a fruit of religion. Fanaticism is a natural tendency rooted in our basic egotism and will to power. It seizes upon any noble feeling to live on it. The only remedy for religious fanaticism is the Gospel light and the progress of religious consciousness in faith itself and in that fraternal love which is the fruit of the human soul's union with God. For then man realizes the sacred transcendence of truth and of God. The more he grasps truth, through science, philosophy, or faith, the more he feels what immensity remains to be grasped within this very truth. The more he knows God, either by reason or by faith, the more he understands that our concepts attain (through analogy) but do not circumscribe Him, and that His thoughts are not like our thoughts: for "who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath become His counselor?" The more strong and deep faith becomes, the more man kneels down, not before his own alleged ignorance of truth, but before the inscrutable mystery of divine truth, and before the hidden ways in which God goes to meet those who search Him.

TO SUM UP, the real problem has to do with the human subject, endowed as he is with his rights in relation to his fellow men, and afflicted as he is by the vicious inclinations which derive from his will to power. On the one hand, the error of the absolutists who would like to impose truth by coercion comes from the fact that they shift their right feelings about the object from the object to the subject; and they think that just as error has no rights of its own and should be banished from the mind (through the means of the



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nind), so man when he is in error has no rights of his own and should be banished from human fellowship (through the means of human power).

On the other hand, the error of the theorists who make relativism, ignorance, and doubt a necessary condition for mutual tolerance comes from the fact that they shift their right feelings about the human subject—who must be respected even if he is in error—from the subject to the object; and thus they deprive man and the human intellect of the very act—adherence to the truth—in which consists both man's dignity and reason for living.

They begin, as we have seen apropos of Kelsen, with the supreme truths either of metaphysics or of faith. But science also deals with truth, though in science the discovery of a new truth supplants most often a previous theory which was hitherto considered true. Well, what will happen if human fanaticism takes hold of what it claims to be scientific truth at a given moment? Suffice it to look at the manner in which the Stalinist state imposed on scientists its own physical, biological, linguistic, or economic truth. Now, it is a little different: a certain amount of diversity among scientists is *commanded* in Russia, and the Russian state is endeavoring to *manage* and *control* free discussion itself. Shall we then conclude that in order to escape state-science oppression or management, the only way is to give up science and scientific truth, and to take refuge in ignorance?

It is truth, not ignorance, which makes us humble, and gives us the sense of what remains unknown in our very knowledge. In one sense only is there wisdom in appealing to our ignorance: if we mean the ignorance of those who know, not the ignorance of those who are in the dark.

Be it a question of science, metaphysics, or religion, the man who says: "What is truth?" as Pilate did, is not a tolerant man, but a betrayer of the human race. There is real and genuine tolerance only when a man is firmly and absolutely convinced of a truth, or of what he holds to be a truth, and when he at the same time recognizes the right of those who deny this truth to exist, and to contradict him, and to speak their own mind, not because they are free from truth but because they seek truth in their own way, and because he respects in them human nature and human dignity and those very resources and living springs of the intellect and of conscience which make them potentially capable of attaining the truth he loves, if some day they happen to see

COLONIALISM WITH A DIFFERENCE

Britain's Third Empire

J. L. BENVENISTI

AS ONE TERRITORY after another achieves independence, the shape of Britain's third empire begins rapidly to emerge. The first empire centered on the American colonies, the second on India. The African dependencies will be the center of the third.

This, however, is bound to be an empire with a difference, because a new and even disturbing principle has been introduced into imperial affairs. It has always seemed natural enough that Britain should have an empire. The new and startling factor in the situation is that she is now expected to pay for it.

Yet for nearly twenty years this novel obligation has been recognized. Partly because of the prevailing moral climate, but rather more specially because of the findings of the Royal Commission on the West Indies (which were so appalling that they had to be suppressed till after the war), there was passed in 1940 the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, which was greatly extended in scope by a similar act passed in 1945. Both these acts recognized the responsibility of the home government for conditions prevailing in the colonies and authorized the expenditure of very considerable sums of money for any purpose likely to develop a colony's resources or promote the welfare of its people.

All this is not unrelated to the growing tendency to grant emergent nations their independence, though there are certainly other and perhaps weightier considerations involved; but the White Man's Burden loses much of its romantic appeal when it becomes so largely a financial one, and no new Kipling has yet arisen to sing the glories of an added shilling on the income tax.

It is of course true that when territories achieve sovereignty, they are usually at a stage of development where their financial demands on the mother country are not too onerous. Ghana, for instance, before

Mr. Benvenisti, a frequent contributor, is an English economist and writer.

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achieving independence, had largely carried through a two hundred million dollar development plan. Nearly all this money was raised locally or by loan, and the British government only contributed by direct grant the equivalent of about nine million dollars.

But it would be rash to make too much of this. Nine million dollars is always nine million dollars, and it does not follow that because a territory is relatively modest in its demands at the time it gains its independence, it will necessarily remain so. Poverty and a modest degree of literacy are always dangerous combinations, and by European standards Ghana is still very poor indeed. That being so, growing contacts with the outside world might well tend to make her increasingly conscious of her disabilities. It is not unreasonable to suppose that demands for increasingly ambitious projects and for improved social services will multiply in the not too distant future. Malta's demand for complete equality in social service benefits as a condition of integration with the United Kingdom is in this context illuminating.

ALL SUCH ASPIRATIONS towards material betterment are of course praiseworthy enough. The only trouble is that Britain just isn't in a position to pay for them, and a reasonably rapid liquidation of at least part of her empire is as good a way as any of evading inconvenient claims upon her pocket. Once this is done, she can concentrate her limited resources where they are most needed.

It is not without significance that the British government should recently have ruled that the Colonial Development Corporation, the agency chiefly concerned in this matter, could make no loans to any territory once that territory had gained its independence, and lest Ghana should have failed to take the hint, inserted a special clause to this effect in Ghana's Independence Act. It was thus tactfully conveyed to Ghana that if in future she wanted money, she would have to take the matter up with somebody else—perhaps with Mr. Hammerskjold.

Where all this is leading is plain enough. Britain must concentrate more and more on her African dependencies and their sixty million people—I am, of course, using the word dependencies in its strict sense, which excludes both Ghana and the Union of South Africa, though I include the self-governing but not independent colony of Southern Rhodesia. From these territories Britain cannot withdraw without risk to their stability and consequently to her trade, though she is also urged to remain by other considerations.

In the main, Britain's record as a civilizing agency is creditable. Barely half a century ago—the thing is as recent as that—Africa was still largely the home of warrior tribes living by a shifting agriculture or as wandering herdsmen. Today over four thousand students from Britain's African dependencies are studying at British colleges and universities—a number equal to the entire student population of Oxford before 1914—and many others are training in Australia, Canada and the United States. Schools and hospitals are coming into being at a rate that since the war has been steadily accelerating, and scarcely a year goes by without the opening of some new technical college or institution of higher learning. Meanwhile, political democracy, though it exists in some territories only in a limited and qualified form, is slowly broadening, while at the local level African participation in government is very active indeed.

Of course, the entries on the debit side are enormous. The color bar is everywhere, often expressing itself in positive legislation, and there are differential wage-rates for the same jobs. There has been capitalist exploitation in all its classic forms and with all its classic concomitants of slums, low wages, prostitution and all the consequences of inadequate diet.

Worst of all, perhaps, is the breakdown or near-breakdown of the tribal system which, within its limits, was a valuable school of morals and social duty. That it has not perished altogether is due to the consistent efforts of the various governments to preserve what is left of it. In its dissolution it has produced that curse of all mixed cultures, the semi-literate, uprooted native proletariat that invariably develops the worst of either element in its inheritance.

IT IS THIS last-named evil, however, that has set to work curative forces which have produced the most promising and perhaps the most important feature of British rule. The rather imprecise name given to this variegated activity is Community Development, and it was the original inspiration of what UNESCO subsequently and perhaps more appropriately termed "Fundamental Education." Its promise lies in the fact that it goes to the very heart of the African problem, which is that of helping the African to master and successfully adjust himself to a difficult environment.

One of the first requirements is simply literacy, and the spread of literacy through native mass-literacy teams is an extremely important element in the community development campaigns. Actually, however, the scheme embraces everything from soil conservation to maternity clinics, from crop rotation to women's clubs (which are said to be flourishing in Uganda).

These activities are usually carried out under expert advice by voluntary collective effort, with the government supplying part or all of the tools and materials or advancing money for this purpose on easy terms.

How necessary it is for such projects to be part of a well thought out plan, with the why and wherefore

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grasped by everybody, is shown by a peculiarly illuminating feature of the Mau Mau revolt. One of the Mau Mau's main propaganda slogans was "No More Soil Conservation," which at first seems very much as though a political candidate had come forward with "No clean milk for babies" or "No more honest policemen" as planks in his platform. But in this particular matter the Mau Mau leaders were anything but fools. The slogan "No More Soil Conservation" was aimed at the women, who in Africa do most of the digging, and who, precisely because they were more backward than the men, looked upon the soil conservation measures which the government was trying to enforce as but another example of the white man's tyranny.

Yet the most important feature of these community development schemes, and in particular of the mass-literacy campaigns, is of a different sort. In the circumstances that prevail in Africa the great danger of popular education is that it will separate children from their parents and from the life of the tribe. By bringing education to bear on parents and children alike, the mass-literacy campaign reverses this trend and helps to strengthen the valuable tribal organization. This great undertaking is, of course, both elaborate and costly.

THERE IS, however, a danger that the progress being made in Africa today may lead us to gloss over the question whether the present effort is sufficient—or anything like sufficient. Britain may be doing her best within her limited means, but that does not mean that her best is even nearly good enough. Certain simple statistical figures here tell their own somber story.

In Britain the expenditure per capita on education is roughly thirty-five dollars. In the territories of East Africa it is sometimes less than a dollar and hardly ever appreciably more. In West Africa the expenditure is approximately forty cents. Yet all seem to agree that the African is a glutton for education, and that whatever obstacles there may be to its spread, his unwillingness to accept and profit by it is not one of them.

Before the Mau Mau revolt the dissident elements of the Kikuyu had already established a quite elaborate system of independent schools and teacher-training colleges, which were to some extent germinal cells of the revolt itself. Hideous as was the fashion in which that movement ultimately developed, these schools were actually not devoid of all social value, since they were effective disseminators of literacy. If the African can do this unaided and in the teeth of authority, one feels that in the educational field he can do anything—all of which makes the figures I have just given even more disquieting. It is true that in Africa services are cheaper and needs less elaborate, but that fact does not explain the statistics out of existence.

The figures for health expenditure are even worse. Here Britain also spends roughly thirty-five dollars per unit of her population. In Africa the amount spent is between forty and fifty cents. To realize what this means we must appreciate the difference in the role played by sickness in the West and in Africa respectively. In the former it is an essentially individual inconvenience or misfortune, and if we alleviate it through social action, it is chiefly our regard for human beings as individuals that impels us to do so. We do not think of it as something that can sap the mental and physical energy of entire peoples. Yet where Africa is concerned, it is in just this light that we must regard it.

All this adds up to a situation that is at least potentially perilous. That Africans may not for a very long time be brought even within sight of Western material standards need not in itself be disastrous. But they must at least rise sufficiently to give the African hope, to make him feel that he is participating in a collective enterprise which is essentially worthwhile. If such a minimum is not achieved, the fatal combination of poverty and semi-literacy will do its deadly work.

THIS BRINGS US back to where we started—to the amount of money that Britain is capable of pumping into Africa by grant and loan, and that in its turn means the amount of restraint to which the ordinary people of this country will be willing to submit. It is by their estimate of that willingness that political leaders will ultimately be guided in their decisions, and it is on those decisions that not only the size of grants but the rate of capital formation will depend.

Here then is the essential nexus, here also the completely novel element in the situation. Never before has a British or any other empire rested on precisely such a foundation. Today the future of sixty million Africans rests in the hands, not of a minister or a dominant minority, or even those of a legislative assembly. It rests in the hands of fifty million ordinary people in Britain—taxi-drivers, mechanics, assembly-line workers, butchers, bakers, candlestick-makers and, by no means least, in the hands of their wives. Each of these individuals is today wearing an invisible

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imperial crown. It is on what these people think, on their foresight, prudence and imagination, and so on their ultimate readiness to defer consumption and to submit to measures by which consumption will be deferred, that the fate of Africa depends. There is today no other quarter from which the critical resources could be liberated.

Another factor that is not unrelated to the above is the stability of sterling. In a country with a high internal volume of economic activity, a rising price level, even a rapidly rising price level, can impart an additional momentum to business. A colonial territory that exports a very great part, perhaps the greater part, of its products, and imports most of its requirements, has to some extent a predetermined economic rhythm. It must keep its resources liquid for a very long time, and this includes the proceeds of any loans it contrives to raise. Here is a principal difference between Britain and America. A gravely anemic dollar might produce immense strains and dislocations—it would also, of course, produce some very nice fortunes—but it would not cause the United States to disintegrate. If the pound sterling were, at any rate in the short run, unable to maintain at least a reasonable stability, the colonial empire would not have to worry about strains and dislocations. The colonial empire would just disintegrate—and an enormous part of Britain's trade would disintegrate along with it, to say nothing of the other consequences.

Such then is the third British Empire. Never has a people carried so enormous a responsibility and never has its own destiny depended so completely on the degree to which it can rise to it. The Indian empire did not depend in this way on the ordinary people of Britain at all, but went its way independently of them. Today we are witnessing the wholly new phenomenon of an imperial democracy—imperial in the old literal sense of the term, which means that one set of human beings has dominion over another. I do not know whether it will work, but for everybody's sake I hope so.

CRUCIAL DECISION

Hoffa and the Teamsters

JOHN C. CORT

IT IS ALMOST impossible to write about labor these days without mentioning the name of Jimmy Hoffa. So why fight it? Why try to ignore the fact that the Teamsters' convention, which opens in Miami September 30, will probably be making the most crucial decision in the American labor movement since the move to merge the A.F.L. and C.I.O.?

And a good thing, too, that the latter decision came first. For if the A.F.L. and C.I.O. were not merged, then there would be little hope that the Teamsters down in Miami might come up with the big decision and *not* elect Hoffa as their president, king and commander for the next five years.

Why? Because the only hope of stopping Hoffa, as things look now, is for the A.F.L.-C.I.O. to tell the Teamsters that if they do elect him it will mean the heave-ho for the entire union. There is a good chance that they will do so before the convention opens. A week before the Miami meeting the executive council of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. meets in New York. At that time they will hear a full report from their Ethical Practices Committee on Mr. Hoffa in particular and the Teamsters in general. The smart money is on the likelihood that the report will be favorable to neither.

Of course it is possible that the action of the council might be the same even if this were the old A.F.L. crowd, without benefit of Reuthers, Careys, *et al.* But I can't help thinking that the presence of the C.I.O. unions greatly increases the chances of a firm stand. It isn't necessary to claim any moral superiority for the C.I.O. or its ten representatives on the council. From a strictly quantitative point of view it is easy to see that when it comes to threatening expulsion to a union of nearly a million and a half members, it is a darn sight easier to do if you happen to have fifteen million members than if you have only ten million. And quite apart from moral considerations, it is well known that Walter Reuther and Hoffa, both from Detroit, have been unfriendly for years.

If the Teamsters vote for Hoffa, then we can expect to see them leave the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and start dickering with the Mine Workers and some of the building trades unions to form a second federation. The corrupt longshoremen's union, which was kicked out of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., would certainly join up with such a federation, and it would not be surprising to see what is left of the old Communist unions making common cause with John L. Lewis and the racket boys. It would be an

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iteresting combination, some elements of which have een seen together before, but fascinating as it might e as a clinical study, no sane man could claim that it ould be good for either American labor or the ountry as a whole.

A SHORT TIME AGO I was in my office wrestling with problems involved in the lockout of eight undred members of our union as the result of a strike n the Boston newspapers. And at the same time I as in a second wrestling match with problems arising ut of a strike vote on a chain of suburban weeklies. At this moment a friend of mine walked in, a labor eader from a former A.F.L. union, a union man who as been around, and he said to me, among other hings:

"Jimmy Hoffa may be all they say he is and worse, ut let me ask you this. Suppose he were to come into own right now and call you up and say, 'John, I hear you're in trouble. What can I do for you?' So you tell him and in a matter of hours he knocks a few heads together and solves all your problems. Sounds fantastic, but that's the way the man operates. He's a go-through guy. And after he lifts you out of the hole are you going to say anything bad about a man like that? Maybe it never happened to you and never will, but something like it has happened to plenty of labor leaders in this country, and not just in the Teamsters Union either."

As I sat there and considered this, I began to understand for the first time the man's peculiar power and appeal. "He's a go-through guy." That's one of the more common expressions you hear from his supporters. They say he always keeps his word. They also say he has a mind like a trap crossed with a buzz saw. When he lectured to one of Sumner Slichter's seminars at Harvard recently, some of the boys were loaded with trick questions about Teamster contracts. But Jimmy confounded them all with his prodigious memory. He left them gasping.

More recently, however, that amazing memory failed him. It was during his tour of duty before the McClellan Investigating Committee. He didn't take the Fifth Amendment. That would have been fatal to his hopes for advancement at Miami. What he did was to slip again and again behind such words as "I don't recall" or "My recollection is hazy on that point." Senator McClellan charged that at one session, on August 22, Hoffa "either avoided or equivocated the answers to one hundred and eleven questions," and the next day, the Senator added, "I think he broke that record."

These were the documented charges made by the committee:

1. Hoffa "borrowed" large sums of money from individuals and firms with whom the Teamsters either had contracts or did business. Total proven about $60,000.

2. Hoffa's wife, together with the wife of Hoffa's assistant, Owen Brennan, parlayed an investment of $4,000 into a profit of $60,000 as co-owner of a company that leased trucks to firms with whom the Teamsters have contracts. Hoffa and Brennan originally owned the stock but turned it over to their wives for what appear to be obvious reasons.

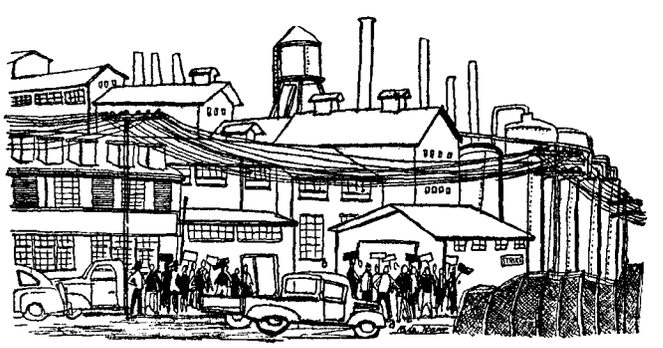
3. Hoffa conspired with his old friend, Johnny Dio, three times convicted labor extortionist, to charter seven paper locals (that is, without members) and deliver them to Dio and his pals for the purpose of taking over the union's joint council in New York City.

In the face of this, Hoffa seems hardly to be the kind of man—go through or not—who should be entrusted with the presidency of one of America's largest and most powerful unions.

It looked for a while as though the cops had caught up with Hoffa when he went to trial on the charge that he had bribed a lawyer on the McClellan staff to feed him inside dope. But Hoffa had maybe the best lawyer in the business, and it has been suggested that Negroes on the jury were impressed by the parade of distinguished Negroes, including Joe Louis, whom Hoffa brought into the courtroom, as well as by pro-Hoffa ads in the local Negro paper. At any rate, he was found "not guilty."

The big problem at Miami will be the lack of standout material to challenge Hoffa. The most likely candidate so far seems to be Tom Hickey, an international vice-president from New York who can't compare with Hoffa in ability to make friends and influence people, but who happens to be an honest man. Also an intelligent one. And to be honest and intelligent, and still a Teamster leader in New York for the past twenty years, is no mean accomplishment.

They could do much worse than Tom Hickey. Not that any of the delegates down at Miami are going to care what this writer thinks. But it's just possible they might care what the A.F.L.-C.I.O. council thinks. And if the council tells them to forget about James Hoffa, and they do it, that will be something all of us can be thankful for.



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THE SCREEN

IS THIS TRIP NECESSARY?

MOVIES ARE often magic carpets that transport audiences to all parts of the globe. But, inevitably, one begins to wonder if the pleasures of this kind of travel are worth the accompanying punishment. Three new films may make even confirmed moviegoers hesitate before getting their visas to the theater. Instead of being a straight travelogue on the Orient, "Search for Paradise" plays around with a theme about two American Air Force men (James S. Parker and Christopher Young) hunting for a Shangri-La retreat in Asia. Actually they find it several times—in Ceylon, where they contemplate the temples and, accompanied by saffron-robed priests, the Lankatilaka Buddha; in the hidden valley of Hunza, whose vibrantly healthy and happy people, descended from Alexander's army, have no jails and play a wild game of polo; in the incredibly beautiful Himalayas; in the romantic Vale of Kashmir and Shalimar Gardens; and on Dal Lake where people lazily drift through lotus beds in gondola or houseboat.

But Lowell Thomas, producer of this fourth Cinerama film, was not content to let his paradise-seekers be. He got the idea for his production when he was made official U. S. ambassador to the coronation of the King of Nepal last year. So he drags his relaxing wayfarers from their idyllic spots to busy Katmandu, the capital of Nepal, where Cinerama's three-eyed cameras view the coronation in all its glory. The ceremonies, parades and festivities are interesting enough but are covered at such length that they grow tiresome. Furthermore, by this time the narration and musical score that accompany the whole film have begun to pall.

Most of these visuals look good even when the three projections on Cinerama's enormous curved screen are not in perfect synchronization. Cinerama is at its best in its wide-sweeping paroramas or when the camera is placed at the front of a moving vehicle and the spectator gets the sensation of participation. He gets this sensation so vividly when the cameras ride the rapids of the Upper Indus River that he almost ducks the spray and reaches for the dramamine. However, if Cinerama hopes to win and hold mature audiences, it must prove itself as more than a novelty.

MUNICH gets the full treatment in Technicolor and CinemaScope in "Interlude" and comes off better than the film's cast or story. The mediocre screenplay by Daniel Fuchs and Franklin Coen tells the tired tale of the innocent abroad who, swept off her feet by the romantic foreigner, falls desperately in love with him and then is shocked to discover he already has a wife, a pretty woman who is mentally ill but sti his wife. After "Summertime" Hollywood would hav been smarter to go on to fresher fields, no matter ho attractively the picture shows off Munich, Salzburg an the surrounding country. As the naive girl from Phila delphia ("that's in Pennsylvania") June Allyson is n longer as American or as fresh as blueberry pie. must be admitted, however, that the character she playing is as corny as Kansas in August, and the filr never quite makes clear why the famous orchestr leader (Rossano Brazzi) finds her so intriguing.

Marianne Cook, as the unbalanced wife, and th supporting cast in "Interlude" try hard to lift the movi above the soap opera level (Keith Andes as June' American admirer, Jane Wyatt as the scatter-brainec supervisor of Amerika Haus, Françoise Rosay as a countess) but Director Douglas Sirk and the scrip never give them a chance.

FOR AUDIENCES wanting to continue their world tour there's an English film called "A Town Like Alice" which takes a group of women on a trek all over Malaya during the Japanese occupation and finally winds up many years later in Australia. Based on Nevil Shute's novel, this story is essentially a tribute to the human spirit. When their menfolk are yanked off to prison by the enemy in 1942, the English women are shunted from place to place in Malaya because no Japanese officer wants to take on responsibility for them. They go through unbelievable hardships as they trudge for miles and the survivors finally spend the last three years of the war in a village missed by the Japs, where these now-hardened women work in the fields with the Malayans. The lead roles are very well played by Virginia McKenna, as a young woman of exceptional fortitude, and Peter Finch, as a rancher from Alice Springs in Australia. Although this story is based on fact, the film seems more like fiction, and its characters more like types than real people.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

COMMUNICATIONS

"THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL"

Grand Forks, N.D.

To the Editors: It is with considerable consternation that one reads an editorial such as "The Right to Travel" which appeared in the August 30 issue of The Commonweal. It is, of course, unfortunate that our Founding Fathers neglected to place freedom of travel among the rights guaranteed by the Constitution, for surely in a true democracy this right can

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e no more abrogated than the right to pursue one's lucation free of government restraint. However, these ghtly respected gentlemen might be excused, being it political philosophers in an unenlightened era efore passports were necessary, an era when travel as possible between England and France even though ose two countries were at war and mutually blockding one another; men living in such times could ever imagine in their wildest dreams the subtle ways ie total state curtails individual freedom.

So now when much must be sacrificed to, as your riter succinctly put it, "the defense of the free orld," I imagine it is too late to complain that one nly wants to see the old city of Peking or the Wall f China; for evidently seeing the Wall of China has ome political overtones, some propaganda purpose hat will "weaken the defense of the free world." In uch a situation I imagine it is useless to protest that would rather see China through my own eyes than hrough those of a reporter, even though I may get ny figures on the production of pig iron hopelessly confused as no trained reporter would . . . .

The Freedom of the Press exists only to obtain a more alert and well informed public. That it has failed to do this is obvious, as it has become merely another manipulator of the masses. The press in other words is one of those tails that is doing its best to wag the dog. Still it proclaims the sacredness of Freedom of the Press, and therefore it is not only necessary that the Press should go to China, but it is downright sacrilegious that some stupid students ("Some of whom are said to be well disposed [to communism?] to begin with" according to your editorial writer) should get there before the Fourth Estate. These students, not being gentlemen of the press but private citizens, are easily duped as the journalistic trade knows so well, they having gained so much in the practice of duping them.

The Commonweal of course does not usually subscribe to the dictums of popular journalism, hence one feels it would be well to protest when your magazine does slip.

JACK LAMB.

"RELIGION IN THE CENSUS"

New York, N. Y.

TO THE EDITORS: It is interesting to read in your reply to Father Schuyler [Sept. 13] how you defend your position in the matter of a religious question in the 1960 Federal Census, but startling to find you saying: "Even on purely pragmatic grounds, enough people are opposed to the question's inclusion to make us doubt that its results could possibly justify the religious dissensions it is capable of arousing."

Use of such logic hardly is in keeping with the way you defend your stand. And who are these "enough people" you say are opposed? There are at the moment two groups other than The Commonweal that have committed themselves in opposition: the ACLU and The American Jewish Congress. Undoubtedly there might be one or two other groups, but certainly they would not be as influential. At first, the ACLU was in favor, but recently its stand has been reversed.

Quite a few of the important Protestant groups would not oppose such a question in the Census, and among those who favor the matter are: The Roman Catholic Hierarchy, The Population Council, The Catholic Press Association, The Census Bureau, and Paul Blanshard. Furthermore, the Census Bureau has done pre-testing of various questions, among 35,000 families on a national sampling basis, and finds that of the questions asked they experienced the least opposition to the one on religion.

THOMAS B. KENEDY,
Editor, *The Official Catholic Directory.*

Columbia, Mo.

TO THE EDITORS: Like you, I, too, was shocked at the intemperate tone of the letter on the question of religion in the census in your September 13 issue. Can we no longer debate debatable topics without engaging in personalities that approach calumny? . . .

As to the question of "Religion in the Census" itself, my own position is simple. If I refuse to answer the question of a census-taker, "What is your religion?", I can be put in jail. I do not think such an unhappy result is likely to occur, but the power to bring it about is there. Thus my objection to the question in the census has nothing to do with the First Amendment but rather with the invasion of privacy and the setting of a dangerous precedent.

While I am proud of being a Catholic convert and am eager to make that fact known, with reasons, on any appropriate occasion, I object to being forced to divulge this well-known fact to a government official under penalty of law. There are already far too many personal questions involved in the Federal census.

I do not see, on the other hand, how there could be any reasonable objections to the inclusion of all these personal questions in the census that go far beyond the original purpose of the census (the allocation of Representatives in Congress) as expressed in Article I, Section 2, of the U. S. Constitution if the answering of such questions were made clearly and strictly *voluntary*. Certainly our market researchers and other statisticians have well-established methods for measuring the reliability of such voluntary answers on a sampling basis. Why this passion to *compel everybody* to answer all these personal questions?

ROBERT E. BRAY.

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Intrusion of Evil into the Ordinary Life

THE TRANSGRESSOR. By Julian Green. Translated by Anne Green. Pantheon. $3.50.

By WALLACE FOWLIE

THE French edition of *Le Malfaiteur* contains a brief introduction by Julian Green which has unfortunately been omitted from the American edition. It states that the writing of this new novel, which is the tenth to be published by Mr. Green, was begun in 1937 and interrupted in 1938, after one hundred pages had been written. Seventeen years elapsed before the novelist returned to it and completed it in 1955. He explains that religious preoccupations turned him away from the central problems raised by *The Transgressor* and says that readers of the novel should not be surprised at finding in it traces of his return to a religious life.

Another reason offered by Julian Green for his abandoning of the novel was the troubled pre-war atmosphere of 1938 when the whole world seemed threatened. His return to the work in 1955 is explained by his desire to complete a manuscript, but more, to call attention to one of the most tragic aspects of physical love in the modern world. This aspect of carnality, as it involves the spiritual life, is the central theme of the novel. It is a stronger, more specific and more detailed treatment of the theme of Green's first play, *Sud,* of 1952, the love of a woman for a man incapable of loving women.

It should be said at the outset that there is no trace in *Le Malfaiteur,* and hence no trace in the excellent translation provided by the novelist's sister, Anne Green, of the interruption of the writing in 1938. Characterized like all Green's novels by careful construction and unity of tone, *The Transgressor* is a skillfully told story which centers on a significant psychological drama. As he has done so many times in his previous novels, Green depicts again the oppressive atmosphere of a French provincial house, inhabited by women whose repressions and jealousies help to precipitate a series of disasters.

The new dimension, announced in the prefatory remarks of the French edition, is the novelist's effort to see the human problem of the protagonist Jean, "the transgressor," in its religious context. The transgression itself, Jean's homosexuality, is never described or analyzed. One is told about it in the opening pages, but it is Jean's secret, never clearly defined. Incidents relating to it are only obliquely referred to, but, one feels from the beginning of the story to the end the weight of this transgression and its fatality. The religious context is even more faintly indicated. Jean himself asks the question to which no satisfactory answer is given in the book. He asks why he is reproached for being what God made him.

The art of this book is in the presentation of Jean, who dominates the novel and yet is absent from all the major scenes. He is the distant relative of a family who give him a room in their house, where he leads a writer's life of solitude. The family also gives shelter to a young girl, Hedwige, who falls in love with a young man. This man has no interest in women. He is venal, self-centered and has been lover of Jean. Jean, the conscious sinner and the knowing sufferer, admires the innocence and the purity of Hedwige, and he tries to warn her of the hopelessness of her love. All he succeeds in doing is unconsciously, by his own suicide, opening up to Hedwige the way to her own tragic end.

This summary of the novel does no justice to the power of the drama it relates between a creature and the Creator, to the variant it offers on the problem of evil. The book actually contains two dramas which are closely related. There is first Jean's drama, or society against the individual, and there is secondly Hedwige's drama, or woman in love with a man who cannot love her. Jean is alone with his secret because it cannot be expressed. Hedwige has no secret but she is alone because she does not understand. For both Jean and Hedwige, love is forbidden in that irremediable way which the French associate with the tragedies of Racine. At one point in the work Jean and Hedwige are referred to as "anarchists" because their solitude and their innocence lead to crime. With delicacy, and with economy of language, Julian Green has written a story of fatality as it manifests itself in the most ordinary of lives.

Unique Among the Victorians

THE MIND AND ART OF COVENTRY PATMORE. By J. C. Reid. Macmillan. $7.

By BETTE RICHART

THIS STUDY is so obviously a labor of love that it seems heartless to brush it off as love's labor lost, but so it is. The scholarship is impeccable, but misplaced; Patmore is not intricate enough to reward the techniques of the microscope. I should like to see Mr. Reid's competent sobriety brought to bear upon a textured poet like Robert Lowell, and I should like to see a psychiatrist like Stern or Zilboorg write a study of Patmore's sexual mystique.

He was a unique voice among Victorians in his simple acknowledgement that sex is necessary, and therefore good. That view is not so novel today, and will gain little by repetition. Patmore's best poems are his short lyrics; no artificial respiration will revive those quaint corpses, "The Angel in the House" and "The Unknown Eros." Of "The Angel," Rossetti pertinently re-

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ıarked, paraphrasing Tennyson, 'of love which never finds its pubshed close, what sequel?' And how ıany?"

Mr. Reid ascribes the fluctuaons in Patmore's reputation to the se of divorce and "female emanipation." (Archaic usage is a conıgious disease.) A contemporary emarked that, "he sees woman as ıe angel in the house only as long s she stays in it." Patmore himself aid "If there's anything that God ıates utterly, it's a clever woman!" Not much emancipation is required o quarrel with this viewpoint—and ıot much imagination is required to ɔicture the reaction of St. Teresa ɔf Avila, for one.

The difficulty is that Mr. Reid has ıo taste in poetry, nor had Patmore. This passage is seriously quoted and analyzed:

> Whene'er I come where ladies are,
> How sad soever I was before,
> Though like a ship frost-bound and far,
> Withheld in ice from the ocean's roar . . .
>
> Then is my sadness banish'd far,
> And I am like that ship no more.

It's just hopelessly funny, like Kilmer's "Trees," a fine example for the young of all that poetry is not. It is also a partial example of how Patmore's sexual philosophy, after a healthy and courageous beginning, began to acquire its overtones of hearts-and-flowers distasteful to theologians and psychiatrists alike.

Mr. Reid confesses that even a Patmore zealot could hardly call him a scholar. He read Swedenborg (who else?) exhaustively; Aristotle (of course) sketchily. He absurdly underestimated Blake and Keats; there is nothing really interesting in such whimsicalities. When Mr. Reid comments upon Garnett commenting upon Patmore commenting upon Barnes, it seems high time to call in Gilbert and Sullivan. There are too many mountains laboring in Horace's classic parturition.

Patmore's political views were shocking. He merged quite painlessly from liberalism into the squirearchy when he married money, and was reprimanded by Hopkins for anti-Semitism. Given such a number of comic attitudes, why is he remembered at all today? The answer lies partly in a personality which was larger than the sum of its parts; in his epigrammatic prose, "The Rod, the Root, and the Flower"; in a handful of lyrics "like the sea for clearness and for mystery"; and in his theories of architecture and prosody. In the one he was the harbinger of Frank Lloyd Wright, in the other of Hopkins. He was probably the only Victorian who saw the beauty of machines, and he dramatized the use of the caesura more effectively than any English poet before Hopkins. He pushed the likeness between music and metrics too far, as Hopkins said, but nevertheless poets learned much from him about where to pause lightly, where to pause long, and why.

Mr. Reid's error lies in thinking a frail reed can pipe a symphony. Robert Frost's oven bird could have saved him more than three hundred pages of hard labor:

> The question that he asks
> in all but words
> Is what to make of a diminished thing.

Making much of it doesn't alter its size; that is the oven bird's secret.

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tiful and well-edited a book as this is pure pleasure. What it conveys is a new and deeper appreciation of those ages which are commonly overshadowed by the Gothic and scholastic age and which are missed entirely by those who see nothing but darkness between the renaissance of Charlemagne and the days that opened with Bernard and Anselm and climaxed with Aquinas. Our pride in the Greatest of Centuries tends to eclipse the whole of the so-called Burgundian era. And yet there are the churches of Cluny, Arles, Cologne, Saxony and Bamberg, there is the mysterious "Basle Retable" in the Cluny museum in Paris, there are the great manuscripts of the period, of which this is one of the finest. It is the last flowering of the knightly and monastic age.

As the author outlines the spirit that stood behind this and its contemporary creations, it was an age steeped in symbolism, a vision of Christian Platonism into which the cerebrations of the Aristotelians broke like a destroying flood. Of course he does not say this, as his is the pure joy of discovery and possession: all is symbol of redemption and heaven. The King is manifestation of Christ's Kingship, as the Pope is his direct representative. The world is the anteroom of glory and all is faith and symbol, crying for beauty. One such manuscript can bring back a whole world, better than volumes of smart and nostalgic verbalizing about the "magic" age. The perfection of this edition makes it a pleasure to read and look upon—a work of technical and scientific perfection.

The regret comes when you think that such a book has to come from Munich and, in payment to an age of mechanization, cannot be produced in this country. It is small comfort to say that its original could not be produced in Europe either, because the key to this mind and culture was lost long ago in a questionable but unavoidable process of maturing which destroyed its sacral view of the world. It was the gift of an adolescent Christianity, of a unique wedding of Hellenic and Germanic genius which is mani-

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sted in the style and the prefer-ce for Greek in the lettering.

The work is one of the renais-nce that flourished with the reborn onasticism of the Reforms of St. aximin of Trier and of Cluny in urgundy, and shows the prepos-ssion of the age with solemn and andiose liturgical performance. ems, ivory, precious metals, vivid olors of purple, azure, green, hite and gold were lavished over ie sacred texts which in antique adition were regarded as sacra-ental: "exemplum et mysterium." ne sees strange affinities in the eatment of the human figure with odern painting, something "pre-erebral" which leaves the super-atural in its setting and does not raw it into the physics and phil-ophy of earth-centered plausibility. n those days the sacred text re-eived the same reverence as the onsecrated host and both were 'reserved" together. We have to keep this in mind when we thumb again and again through this mag-nificent book; otherwise it almost seems too lavish in its expenditure of money, work and talent.

The editor, Dr. Peter Metz, con-veys this world to us, and his in-troduction is indispensable to us in reaching appreciation and under-standing. As it is, it comes like Melchisedech, without father, mother or country, out of space. A few samples of contemporary manuscripts, sculpture and architec-ture would have helped to make the work even more impressive. But even without these it conveys beauty, reverence and love and it may help to take our own sacred books out of the drab commercial-ism that surrounds them now in so many instances. Although, to be truthful, there seems to be a break in the unimaginative printing and editing of the last hundred years.

The manuscript dates roughly from 1000 A.D. (the gold and ivory cover is earlier, the illuminated parchment about fifty years later). The human effort which now goes into the making of automatic devices went into worship, direct and uni-vocal, in the days of the Cluniac monks. While the sum of human en-joyment and happiness may have remained constant, we have yet to find the expression for all our work's "God-relatedness" that was so simple to formulate in the days when Echternach meant a castle of prayer, warring for the heavenly King Christ, enthroned among men, who sang continuous hymns and rendered uninterrupted sacrifice to His Father. Of this sunken age this beautiful book is an eloquent wit-ness.

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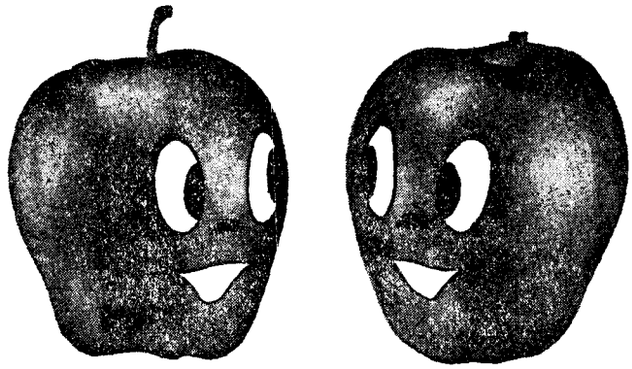

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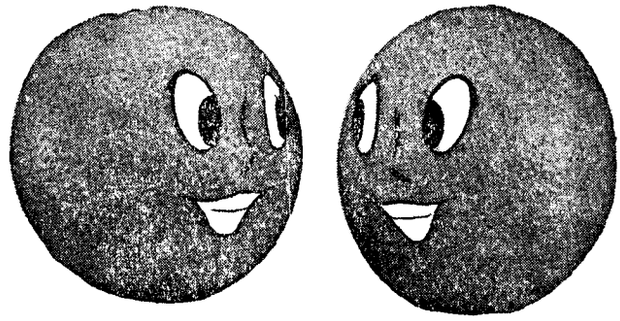

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